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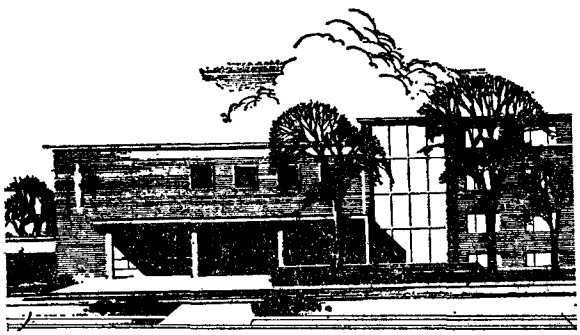

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232 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 16

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Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Orange, Conn., under the act of March 3, 1879. Second-class postage paid at Orange, Conn. Printed in the U.S.A. and published weekly, except biweekly from mid-July to mid-September, at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn., by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N.Y. MUrray Hill 3-2042.

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U.S. and Canada, $8 a year. Foreign, $10. Single copies 25¢
Printed at the Wilson H. Lee Co., Orange, Conn.

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SEVENTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

TOWARD A BERLIN POLICY

BERLIN IS ONCE again the very crux and center of the cold war. Once again Premier Khrushchev has blustered and threatened and set a time limit for a decision on the status of West Berlin. And once again the United States and her allies have reiterated their intention to stand firm, to pursue no negotiations under threat. The Soviet Union has canceled plans for a cut in armed forces and the United States is openly considering plans for increasing its armed strength.

Since the deadlock over Berlin constitutes what we have become accustomed to term a "potentially explosive situation," one could rightly expect many sincere expressions of anxiety and even fear. For "potentially explosive" today means potentially nuclear, with no reasonable expectation that the explosion could be contained within Germany or even Europe. And yet there seems little real apprehension that the present impasse will result in the war that all must fear. It could be, of course, that many people believe that, in this instance, history will repeat itself—that the threat will again be forgotten, the deadline again passed by, the decision once again postponed.

It is more likely, however, that the very real complexities of the situation are becoming increasingly apparent, that a recognition of the multiplicity of shifting factors is becoming increasingly common. West Berlin is, of course, extremely important, both in itself and as a symbol of what it stands for. To the Communists it is an affront and an embarrassment—and an escape hatch to Western Europe. For the Western allies it is a display, a showcase—and a significant crack in the iron curtain which would seal off Eastern Europe. West Berlin cannot be forgotten or overlooked, and the Russians are unwilling to allow it to exist unchanged.

It is quite possible that in the course of another year the Soviet Union and the Western allies will negotiate themselves out of the present impasse. However important Berlin is, neither side wants to see its status resolved at the cost of a large-scale war. What exists then is a situation which will test the will, the intelligence and the shrewdness of each side.

THE UNITED STATES and her allies must estimate how hard Mr. Khrushchev is likely to push. Are there strong pressures on him to gain a victory in the cold war, as some have asserted? Does the reported food shortage in the Communist bloc really make it a "wobbly empire," as Senator Humphrey suggested? Are the new ties between Russia and Yugoslavia a sign of renewed Communist unity, or do they confirm the reported gap between Russia and China, which continues to criticize Yugoslavia in harsh terms? If there were a limited outbreak over West Berlin, could the Communists, in fact, count on the assistance of East Germans?

These are only some of the questions the Allies must answer for themselves before they engage in the inevitable exchange of charges and counter-charges, demands and counter-demands—and possible negotiations. For negotiations are clearly possible. The allies have committed themselves to the maintenance of West Berlin with the allied right of free access. But this still leaves much to discuss and negotiate. As for the Communists, they have their own set of difficult questions to answer as they try to assess the will and intention of the Western allies.

After the great boggle of Cuba there was a sudden loss of confidence in President Kennedy and his foreign policy advisers. Much of this loss

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has now been recouped and the Administration, after some fumbling, seems to be pursuing a cautious but strong policy toward Germany. The recognition seemed to be general at last that hard work and careful planning, not wishful thinking and hasty action, are more likely to achieve the results we desire.

THE NEW ENCYCLICAL

WHEN CARDINAL RONCALLI was elected Pope in the fall of 1958, it was immediately obvious that here was no "caretaker Pope" but a strong and vigorous man who knew what he wanted to do and promptly set about doing it in his own way—a way which was highly informal, "human" and extremely effective, no matter what the traditionalists thought of it. There was, for instance, his restoration of the old practice of visiting the prisoners ("since you could not come to see me, I came to you"). There was his instruction to *L'Osservatore Romano* to drop excessive formality in reporting on his doings, suggesting that "the Pope said" was preferable to the traditional but stilted expressions that were commonly used. There was his call for an Ecumenical Council, with the Pope himself specifying that it represented an invitation to Christianity's "separated communities in quest of unity."

As a result of the vigor and imagination with which he has gone about his pastoral duties, few Popes before John XXIII had as immediate and as striking an effect, not only on Catholics but on the entire world. This same pattern seems to be repeating itself in the case of *Mater et Magistra,* the eagerly awaited encyclical celebrating the seventieth anniversary of Pope Leo's *Rerum Novarum*. Pope John's message was front-page news in most of Western Europe and the United States, and his words are already being seriously considered and praised in most of the capitals of the world.

The new encyclical is the longest in history, and it will be studied and discussed for years to come. Like all the social encyclicals, the principles contained in "Mother and Teacher" are not easily absorbed in one reading; like all the social encyclicals, there is frequently more in the new work than at first meets the eye. But with that much qualification, this can be said immediately: the new encyclical will be a historic landmark in Christian efforts to apply immutable principles to the changing conditions of the modern world.

Issued as it was in commemoration of *Rerum Novarum,* "the *Magna Charta* of social reform," the new encyclical echoes in its main theme the spirit of Pope Leo XIII. Thus it stresses the primacy of the spiritual and rejects materialism, condemns Communism and issues a clear call for increased efforts on behalf of social justice. On this latter score Pope John, himself the son of a peasant, gave particular attention to the plight of the farmer, as well as to the just desire of workers for a greater voice in their industries, and to the problem of underdeveloped areas of the world.

It was the last point, the relationship between wealthy nations and the underdeveloped areas, that attracted most newspaper attention, and understandably so, for Pope John referred to it as "probably the most difficult problem of the modern world." Communities which enjoy abundance of material goods cannot remain indifferent to those nations "whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person." The Pope therefore reiterated that "it is necessary to educate one's conscience" and that "we are all equally responsible for the undernourished peoples." Praising those nations which have aided the underdeveloped areas in the past, the new encyclical stresses the fact that "emergency aid, although a duty imposed by humanity and justice, is not enough. . . ." Rich nations must cooperate in developing the primitive economies of backward areas, while at the same time avoiding any "new form of colonialism." Without the elimination of "glaring economic and social inequality" in the modern world, no lasting peace will be possible.

In their treatment of the encyclical, all the newspaper stories we have seen so far have stressed the fact that the Pope was not speaking *ex cathedra* —that the encyclical does not define a doctrine of faith or morals that binds Catholics under pain of sin. In one sense this caution is a healthy sign, for there has been in some circles too much tendency to create a "Catholic party line" on social questions involving a great measure of prudential judgment; at the same time, however, it should be noted that this approach could be pushed too far. The new social encyclical represents a solemn application of traditional Catholic principles to the problems of our day, and this by the successor of St. Peter; it therefore has to be regarded with the utmost gravity. No one, certainly, should take the statement that *Mater et Magistra* is not *ex cathedra* to mean that the principles it enunciates can be lightly dismissed or easily evaded.

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AUTOMATION ADVANCES

ELSEWHERE in this issue Father Charles Owen Rice discusses the advance of automation, comparing it to the coming of a second Industrial Revolution. For better and for worse, the comparison does not strike us as far-fetched. The blessings that automation can bring in the form of increased productivity are quite obvious, but indications of the problems that accompany it are also multiplying. In the space of the one week in which these editorials are being written, two news items illustrate some of the major problems that attend automation and a specific response by one labor union to the newly developing situation.

According to the most recent Labor Department figures, output in the steel industry rose by fully thirteen per cent between February and April. Early figures for the first part of May indicate an even higher rate of increase, with steel production topping two million tons a week for the first time in a year. Output in steel has risen to almost one hundred and ten per cent of the 1957-59 average, compared with approximately seventy per cent in December and less than fifty per cent during the bad recession months last year. Nonetheless, in the period when production was increasing by thirteen per cent, steel employment went up only two per cent, a lag attributed to ever-increasing automation and longer working hours. Today, despite the industry's substantial degree of recovery from last year's recession state, steel's layoff of almost one hundred and fifty thousand workers—one out of every four—"remains largely unrelieved," as the Labor Department put it.

At the same time in Detroit the United Auto Workers have begun to negotiate for new long-term contracts. Part of Walter Reuther's technique this time around seems to consist in peppering the auto firms with new and different demands almost every day. Some of these union proposals are obviously included for bargaining purposes only; in the give-and-take over the conference tables, many will prove to be expendable. Still, we were very interested in one U.A.W. demand—a voice in deciding where the auto firms build their new plants. "This is a decision which so profoundly affects the worker, his family and his community," the U.A.W. said, "that it should not be subject to the unilateral whim of management."

Management's rejection of the U.A.W. proposal was immediate and predictable. The union demand for a voice in site selection was completely unacceptable, industry leaders said, on the ground that it infringes upon management's right to manage. This reaction by management is a familiar one, as are the efforts of some unions to cling to the past and bar automation completely from their own industry. Understandable as both responses are, however, we think that neither really measures up to the challenges presented by automation. If automation is to be a blessing and not a curse, both labor and management will have to learn to be more flexible and both will have to display a greater recognition of the public's stake in the second Industrial Revolution. Slogans aside, neither labor nor management can or should have things all its own way, and new ways are needed to ensure that the common good is taken into account as automation revolutionizes industry after industry.

THE DEATH OF HEMINGWAY

THE DEATH of Ernest Hemingway and our odd national response to his death highlight the anomalous position we are pleased to grant our writers and artists. In so far as it is possible to assert about a contemporary writer, Ernest Hemingway has won an honored and lasting place, not only in American literature but in world literature. He was a significant part of that impressive literary revolution of the twenties. He was one of those who purified the language of the tribe and gave it new force and life. Very early he won the supreme tribute of being imitated by good writers who could never equal Hemingway at his best. His influence is still with us.

Why then is there a wrong note in almost all that has been written about him since his death? It is not simply the irregularity of a self-inflicted death, the details of which continue to be made public. It is not, surely, that he had come to be regarded as a household god which is dusted off and admired at appropriate intervals. Or that he lived the life of a man of action, occasionally endangering his life.

Why then did so many of the obituary notices sound as if there were something missing in the total picture, as if it were such an easy matter to condescend to a fine writer? Surely it is foolish to say, as some did, that he was a great writer who did not write about anything, or to imply that he was a believer *manqué*, or to say that he was a gifted writer but inwardly dead. For all his faults, as man and writer, it is clear that we have yet to assess his greatness. We do not yet know what his death has taken from us.

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"REPENTANCE AND EXPIATION"

THE EICHMANN trial continues. Hour after hour, day after day, the former S.S. colonel pours out his torrent of words in the Israeli courtroom. The world is hearing again the vocabulary of the Nazi bureaucracy—"forced labor" rather than slow death, "liquidation of assets" rather than shameless theft, the "final solution of the Jewish problem" rather than mass murder. In Eichmann's own view of himself, clearly, he neither tortured nor murdered; he expedited and obeyed.

In a column written at the start of the trial, I asked if the Christian response to the slaughter of the Jews had been even remotely adequate. My own answer, granting the honorable exceptions, was no. Thanks to Monsignor John M. Oesterreicher of Seton Hall University's Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, it is now possible to call attention to an important contemporary German reaction to the Eichmann trial—that of the Catholic bishops of Germany. Assembled at Buehl, Baden, under the chairmanship of Cardinal Frings, the Archbishop of Cologne, the bishops issued the following declaration:

"The stirring testimonies at the [Eichmann] trial force us to ponder anew what it was that made that horrible desecration of human dignity, that destruction of countless human lives, possible. These things happened because the political leadership of our people presumed to abrogate the eternal laws of God.

"Our people must try everything humanly possible to make amends for the injustices done to the Jewish people and to other peoples. Though material restitution is necessary, it alone does not suffice. The bishops, therefore, call on German Catholics to implore, in a spirit of repentance, God's forgiveness for the sins committed by members of our people but also to beg for the spirit of peace and reconciliation. At the same time, the bishops appeal to the initiative of priests and laymen to join, as far as possible, visible signs of expiation to their prayers.

"Most urgently, the bishops call on all men and women on whom the responsibility for our nation rests today, in conscience to resist every new attempt to do away with God's commandments, every attempt to jeopardize again the dignity and the rights of men.

"Those who help form public opinion should keep alive in the consciousness of our people, and particularly in that of our youth, the memory of those selfless women and men who in the dark hours of our history, at the risk of their own lives, helped the persecuted and often suffered with them unto death."

At the same time that they made this declaration, the bishops directed that on the Sunday after the feast of the Sacred Heart the faithful in every church in Germany offer prayers "for the murdered Jews and their persecutors." And for that purpose the following prayer was distributed:

"Lord, God of our fathers! God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob! Father of mercy and God of all consolation! Thou didst receive Israel Thy servant and didst send to him and all men Jesus Christ Thy Son as the Redeemer. Though He was without guilt, Thou didst deliver Him for our sake so that, through Him, we might all be delivered.

"We confess before Thee: Countless men were murdered in our midst because they belonged to the people from which comes the Messiah, according to the flesh.

"We pray Thee: Lead all those among us who became guilty through deed, omission, or silence that they may see their wrong and turn from it. Lead them so that they examine themselves, be converted, and atone for their sins. In Thy limitless mercy forgive, for the sake of Thy Son, that limitless guilt no human atonement can wipe out.

"May the example of those who strove to help the persecuted and resist the persecutors become a power among us.

"Comfort the mourners, calm the embittered, the lonely, and the sick. Heal the wounds that have been inflicted on souls. Make us, and all men, understand more and more that we must love each other as Thy Son loved us.

"Give to the murdered Thy peace in the land of the living. May their death, unjustly suffered, be to their salvation through the blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ, Who with Thee lives and reigns in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God, forever and ever. Amen."

Both the declaration of the German bishops and the prayer speak eloquently for themselves, I think, without additional comment.

JAMES O'GARA.

Summer Schedule

In keeping with the usual practice of this and many other journals, The Commonweal is now publishing on a summer schedule, appearing in alternate weeks from the middle of July to the middle of September. Forthcoming issues of the magazine will be dated as follows: August 11, August 25, September 8, and September 22. From that point on The Commonweal will return to its normal weekly printing schedule.

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The New Industrial Revolution

It is not possible to stop automation, but it should be quite possible for us to make it an orderly process

by CHARLES OWEN RICE

AS WE LOOK back, we can see that the disruption and suffering that came with the Industrial Revolution were, in that historical setting, unavoidable. Society was unprepared for the changes which rushed upon it and was unequipped in every way either to understand them or order them to the common good. To be sure, the resultant horror was intensified by blindness, greed and hardness of heart; it existed in the first place, however, not just because some could not see and others did not care, but because all were confused, baffled and swept along. The constructive and daring planning that was required, in that day and for years to come, simply exceeded society's powers of willing, thinking and doing.

We are in the initial stages of another revolution, the revolution of automation, which justifies comparison with the Industrial Revolution because it too will affect virtually all economic and social areas. The changes may not be so great, but they will come on faster and will extend further. Telescoped into a shorter period of time they will, in this fluid society, sweep into every nook and cranny.

It is not possible to stop this revolution, but it should be possible to make it an orderly process. Here in the United States we might be able to do that, because we have the size, the physical and social resources and, also, enough experience with the process in its early stages to guide us. We can already glimpse the dangers and the dazzling possibilities; as yet, however, there is no sign that we will undertake the enormous and comprehensive adjustments of institutions and attitudes necessary to ensure the orderly introduction of automation.

The transition from a mechanized industrial society to one totally automated could be very harsh and warrants comparison with the transition from handicraft to early industrialism. Automation is much more than a proliferation of machines of increasing versatility and productivity, much more than intensified mechanization. In automation, to be sure, machines grow larger and perform more tasks, but they also move into higher reaches of service. Machines direct other machines, turning them on and off and guiding them. Entire productive processes are carried out with no human intervention. As automation is developed and refined, human intervention is progressively removed, and machines become more sophisticated and self-sufficient.

AUTOMATION MEANS all this, but even more. Of its very nature, automation is progressive, feeding on itself. The thinking machine, the cybernetics device, is part of the whole process, as are the simpler devices by means of which whole series of instructions are given to machines by other machines. Not only are men eliminated but they are often directed by devices, and directed with more efficiency and dispatch than they were by human supervisors.

On a higher level, the gathering, collation, analysis and use of information is being revolutionized by new devices and consequent new techniques. Automation not only produces goods faster but often improves quality, and it combines with the exploding fertility of chemistry to produce new varieties of goods, which may displace the old or open up entirely new wants and markets. And irrespective of chemistry, it adds to the available goods by doing the once difficult and forbiddingly expensive easily and cheaply. It has revolutionary implications for sales, warehousing, and distribution as well as production. It affects agriculture just as deeply as industry and commerce.

The enormous changes that have already occurred have come without the process of automation having been either coordinated or launched full-scale. We are, in short, at the threshold either of great things and stirring times, or an awful mess.

A short-sighted attitude, which happily is losing

Father Rice, a long-time contributor to The Commonweal, writes frequently on social and economic issues.

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favor, is to assume that while automation will in the long run make things better, at first it must make things worse. Proponents of this point of view note that every advance in human productivity has been accompanied by inevitable social discomfort but has always, equally inevitably, ended in a better way of life, at least materially, for the masses. One cannot deny that the people are indeed better off than when the process started, but the glaring weakness of this point of view is its glossing over of the terrible human cost of the early muddling through. A major and obvious measure of this cost is Bolshevism, for the sufferings and injustices of the bad old days did not go unrecorded and unnoticed. If our society inherits the benefits of the early horrors, it is also being presented with a frightful bill.

THERE ARE, roughly, two great problems presented by automation. One is the problem of the suffering, temporary or not, that an uncoordinated and individualistic introduction of automation will certainly produce. The other is a greater and harder problem, that of preventing this uncoordinated and individualistic introduction from happening, and, instead, putting the process to work immediately and smoothly in the service of humanity.

The first problem is very present and very obvious, and it will not be neglected. This is not to say it will be solved completely, but it will be tackled, if for no other reason than the fact that there are now strong and articulate forces representing the victims.

The second problem, however, is infinitely more difficult. Comprehensive planning and coordination are necessary for the orderly and beneficent introduction of automation, but I fear that the men and forces which control capital and industry cannot make the turnabout in thinking that would lead them to embrace them. For one thing, they cannot bring themselves to accept the amount of government or quasi-government involvement that is required. Failing that, their whole outlook will also hold them back from setting up open, voluntary, private associations with sufficient authority to conduct the grave matter.

On this point it must in justice be acknowledged that such private arrangements are menaced by the law. Our healthy fear of monopoly and our previously salutary legal protections against combination and collusion do make the tasks of voluntary organizations doubly difficult. And as one studies the immense problem one can only regret that we have not spontaneously developed the quasi-public agencies of the sort that the papal encyclical, "On Reconstructing the Social Order," saw as necessary in our complex society.

Even if we managed to erect a control structure of some sort, though, we would have to face another problem. Would we be able to procure men to operate it? Could such a structure, or structures, attract and suitably reward with money, prestige, and freedom of action the superbly gifted men we would have to have? The probable answer is no. The industrial and financial community would not deliver up its best brains to any such structure and would not entrust its destinies to whatever men would shoulder the task.

While we weigh all the difficulties and all the reasons for not trying massive coordination, however, it is well for us to remember that we are not alone in the world and that our system is not the only one which is pondering automation. Communist economies are not so far advanced as ours, but they have not been idle. Russia already has a degree of automation, and the Chinese are far from unconscious of the opportunities the process offers them. It is just possible, too, that a controlled economy might do more with automation than a free one. Cybernetics with its faculty of gathering and analyzing information might be a superlative tool for consolidating power and manipulating human and material resources, and automation would probably do less social damage in a primitive than an advanced economy.

At the same time, we do have advantages. We have an early start, we have more trained people, and, very importantly, we have the capital. Automation requires capital; you might say it devours it. But while this hunger for capital can give us pause, it may impede our competitors for decades.

WE ARE NOT at a stage in our knowledge where we can start suggesting even the beginnings of a procedure to harness automation comprehensively. Management consultants say, "Let us study and plan." Labor union leaders say, "Let us study and plan." Enlightened industrialists say, "Let us study and plan." Politicians say, "Let us study and plan." And the active Congressional sub-committee under Elmer Holland, which has been digging into the matter, after reams of testimony and a formal collection of statistics and prognostications of alarm and bounty, is at the moment so burdened down with raw facts that it too cannot say much more than, "Let us study and plan."

Under present circumstances it is reasonably certain that automation will continue to progress almost haphazardly, causing social damage that will have to be repaired. Automation increases the productivity of workers, and as matters now stand the increased productivity is not absorbed by the economy. Men lose their jobs or get only part-time work; young people seeking to enter the job market cannot find openings. Communities and vast industrial areas suffer and shrink, for job-loss stemming from technological change can inflict long-lasting social and economic damage over wide areas. To speak of something I see at first hand, the notoriously fast and sweeping changes in the soft coal industry have for more than a decade

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been depressing the entire Pittsburgh area and huge chunks of the states of West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Illinois, and the end is not yet in sight.

Only government can help the stricken areas, but the task is not simple, for automation is not the only force working against them. There is, for one thing, the persistent shift in population to the West and to a lesser extent to the South. Workers leave an area because they are either pulled or driven, and the very fact of their leaving is a social depressant, just as the fact of an influx is a stimulant for other areas. Sweden's experience, however, shows that when government marshals all its resources it can do a great deal for the blighted or merely depressed portions of a country. Loans, tax credits, grants for site clearance and preparation, judicious location of government enterprises and similar measures can work wonders, and the Kennedy Administration has committed the Federal government to employ these measures while state and local governments are beginning to do what they can.

Corporations, for their part, have to refrain from irresponsible action. Granted that they have to follow their markets, that they have to seek room to grow, and that they have to pay some heed to comparative prevailing rates of pay (particularly if their competition has a great advantage over them in this respect), they must weigh these factors against the welfare of communities and people dependent upon them.

If a corporation is forced to move a facility it should do everything it can to help the afflicted community and workers. Many companies today are careful to prepare their abandoned sites for new enterprises; many even seek to find replacements, and they try to be just in the matter of bringing old workers to new sites and of retraining those left behind. But, although one hesitates to generalize, there are still too many others, perhaps the majority, which automate callously; too often, facilities are simply shut down or relocated in a harsh and irresponsible manner.

Morale has been shattered in various communities and workers reduced to a state bordering on hysteria by such tactics. The resultant bitterness and frustration are hardly good for business prestige; they certainly do not strengthen the position of capitalism.

America faces an important decision as to the value of the community-in-being. Shall we make an effort to preserve communities or shall we let them sink or swim? In the area I am familiar with, I see men cling to their communities with a pathetic determination, driving as much as one hundred miles each day between work and home. The young leave such communities, but the tenacity of those with roots must mean something. It might be, as some claim, that an attempt to keep life in these communities would hurt our over-all economy, making it brittle, but I doubt it. If the motives of all the corporations were good and if their judgments as to the wisdom of their course were invariably sound, there might be less argument, but the opposite is true and the matter needs thorough examination.

THE IMMEDIATE material suffering of the workers affected by automation can be eased. Unions have an idea of what they want to do, and enlightened managements are dealing with them. The two main solutions are retraining and relocation of the displaced workers, the "saved labor," as some specialists refer to them. If workers are no longer needed on one job, they can be trained for another; if they are no longer needed in one area, they can be moved to another, preferably to the operations of their old company. In the period in-between, before they get new work, they should receive financial assistance.

There is a principle here which is gaining acceptance, namely, that the workers should not bear the entire burden of automation and do all the suffering. This principle recognizes the great evil of the Industrial Revolution, that capital was accumulated for expansion at the expense of the workers, who starved so that the "dark satanic mills" could block out the sky.

There is one serious difficulty about this principle, though, and that is the possibility that full application of it could prevent accumulation of capital and sentence corporations to stagnation. With rare good will, corporations such as Kaiser Steel and Armour Packing are honestly studying the manifold problems of automation with their unions, but the basic problem is bigger than any corporation or union, and bigger than whole industries. Today many union leaders are beginning to realize that industry resources may not be great enough to relieve all the pain of automation, especially when it comes fast to an industry that is not too prosperous to begin with. They are also beginning to realize that retraining and relocation are not magic solutions because we cannot be sure that the new trade will continue to be in demand, nor the new location to provide work.

Various expedients have been tried, and others proposed, between unions and management as automation looms. The United Mine Workers accepted automation but insisted on very high wages and a royalty per ton of coal mined. The royalty has been used for pensions and a great medical program, but it has done nothing about the basic problem of technological unemployment. On the West Coast the Longshoremen are trying a similar arrangement with variations.

The real solution is beyond the powers of collective bargaining, and all the unions can hope for is a mutually agreed upon set of rules to soften the blow. The leadership of virtually all industrial unions has accepted the inevitability of automation and is trying to make the best of a bad situation, getting as much justice and

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consideration for the displaced workers as possible. Among the old line crafts the situation is spotty. The building trades and the East Coast Longshoremen simply reject automation and have been getting away with it. The railroaders are fighting a rear guard action but the printing trades are locked in battle, still refusing to let automation sweep in unhindered.

Let it not be thought that automation poses no problems for the capitalist. It is expensive, it is volatile and, most troublesome of all, it is never final. A company may be ruined by delaying automation too long; but it may also be ruined by automating too soon, that is, using an early process when refinements are in flood that will make the initial automated process as outmoded as it made the old process; and the automation may be of the wrong sort; or it may turn out to be more expensive, cumbersome, slow and wasteful than a manual or merely mechanical operation. Great computers have been yanked out, a fancy new automated post office has been closed, expensive and cranky electronic gadgets have been replaced by the simplest things—in one case by a man with a wheel barrow.

Automation costs jobs, but in specific projects the "saving" seldom seems as large as was hoped. Thus the automobile industry's famous automated engine plants turn out a lot of engines and turn them out fast, but they require more labor, albeit of a different sort, than the original planning promised. There is also the nagging fact that, while this past decade saw the introduction of much automation, the all-important productivity per worker has not, on the national aggregate, risen significantly. This may be because at the end of the decade there was a recession and automated facilities were not running full tilt, but we do not know. On the other side of the ledger, we know that automation tremendously increased productivity per worker in the coal industry and probably saved the industry, even though it wrecked the surrounding communities.

ONE WAY or the other, automation is going ahead. It is the wave of the future and it cannot be resisted. It will revolutionize office work as well as production work, the farm as well as the city. It will make and break corporations and whole industries. It will strand millions of workers and make jobs for other millions. It will cause new communities to spring up and will add to America's melancholy roster of ghost towns.

Hopefully, many students of automation say that if times were prosperous and if our economy were growing as it should, automation would be taken in stride and would pose no problem. The five and one-half million unemployed, they say, are not so much caused by automation as they are an inhibiting factor on the process. One hopes these happy people are right but one cannot be sure.

We have had dips and rises in the economy in regular succession since industrialism began and there is some reason for believing that these have been caused, at least in part, by increases in mechanization and productivity. New mechanical processes make jobs as they are being created, cost jobs as they glut the market and then may make jobs again as they enable people to have a higher standard of living. If this is so, automation may make fluctuations more violent, and give us madder booms and sadder depressions.

The New Deal and World War II taught us a lesson that has gloomy implications for our present problem. Normal peacetime expenditures were not sufficient to pull us out of the Great Depression. Even a jaunty leader like Franklin Delano Roosevelt had neither the nerve nor the support, in peacetime, for the massive spending that would have righted the economy. However, war and the threat of war showed that the country could afford such spending and that the economy needed it and thrived on it.

Our economy would be much worse off today if we were not spending so much for defense, but we need to spend more and in other directions. We have places where the money would be well spent: highways, mass transportation, schools, prisons, colleges, mental hospitals and a host of social needs. But in all probability our people and our leaders have no stomach for this massive spending.

There is another hope for absorption of the mad productivity of an automated country and that is the underdeveloped nations of the world. Our helping of them, with or without the continuation of the cold war, could so stimulate our economy that automation would be robbed of the worst of its sting; but what changes of attitude and adjustments such a consummation would require!

This solution, starry-eyed and utopian though it may sound, is practical common sense. In the underdeveloped world they have an explosion of population; in our highly developed land we have an explosion of goods and food. We need each other and can help each other, but that does not mean that we will. Man's stupidity and hardness of heart are constants.

If automation becomes a tool at the service of the whole world, what happens when the rest of the globe is as highly developed and overproductive as we? We have the reaches of outer space then. Such speculation is beyond my present scope, but not beyond the scope of man's abilities and possibilities.

We should realize this: failure to rise to the full challenge of automation will be no small matter. It can result in second-class status for the United States in the next stage of industrial development, and that in turn can bring retrogressions and inversions of world-shattering extent and complexity. If such considerations do not lead us to give the matter our best efforts, I don't know what will.

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Did the Supreme Court give formal approval to atheism?

An End to Religious Tests

by THOMAS O. HANLEY

MUCH WAS said the past year of the unwritten religious test for the office of President. When John F. Kennedy broke down this barrier and entered the White House, he lent moral force to the removal of this test in other areas of political life, and in various localities where it tends to endure.

All the time this fight went on, the Maryland courts were weighing an obscure written law which constituted a religious test for some citizens of the present generation. Article 37 of the Declaration of Rights provides: "No religious test ought ever be required as a qualification for office of profit or trust in this State, other than a declaration of belief in the existence of God. . . ."

Roy R. Torcaso, of a Maryland suburb of Washington, D. C., refused to declare belief in God. He was therefore refused the office of notary public by Clayton K. Watkins, Clerk of the Circuit Court of Montgomery County. That court denied Torcaso's petition of the office.

The Maryland Court of Appeals upheld the County Court action. Yet it did so with reasoning which involved not only anachronism but a misinterpretation of traditional Maryland tolerance as envisaged by its founders of the seventeenth century. "The historical record makes it clear," Judge Henderson of the Maryland Court of Appeals wrote, "that religious toleration, in which this State has taken pride, was never thought to encompass the ungodly."

The Supreme Court took note of this historical point in reversing the lower court decision. It further contested that decision on two other significant points made by the Maryland Court of Appeals. First, it was maintained by the Court of Maryland that a citizen did not have a right to public office, election and appointment being a privilege. Secondly, declaration of belief in God by an office holder was held necessary for the public security.

Justice Black, in writing the unanimous decision in *Torcaso v. Watkins,* did not in historical remarks go into the historical evolution of the Maryland Constitution. Yet considerable meaning for American law is found in highlights in this area. They show the misleading character of the argument of the Maryland Court.

JUDGE HENDERSON has the Maryland government passing judgment on the "ungodly" and providing them no rights. The fact is that the first Maryland Constitution of 1776 had the ungodly at the polls, provided they met property qualifications for voting. Probably no one objected to professing belief in God at this time, including the "ungodly." Some did oppose specific mention of the Christian religion in such declarations.

Early Maryland state law was sensitive to individual differences of conscience and made adjustments while maintaining public manifestation of religion. Hence, shortly after 1800, for example, Jewish requests for revisions in the law were met, interestingly enough with the help of a Mr. Kennedy in the assembly. Adjustments of oaths to Mennonites and others also provide examples of the spirit of these times.

Office holding during this period was indeed a privilege, and not merely in terms of property requirements. There was a tradition of a ruling aristocracy of virtue, or at least an aristocracy with the appearance of virtue. Few officials were directly elected. As a consequence a religious people did not directly control its government. They tended to seek declarations of belief as an assurance in those who did rule. For the most part, however, this was less a test than a public manifestation, the kind of manifestation that is natural even today among Americans as a religious people.

This political context of religious provisions in law passed into history when the Era of Andrew Jackson came to a close. Aristocratic government was put to rest. Americans themselves as a religious people took a direct hand in government. All men came to feel they were qualified for public office. Certainly it was no longer a privilege. The feeling was to regard it as a right.

Yet as the nineteenth century marched on, declara-

Father Thomas O. Hanley, S.J., of Marquette University is the author of *Their Rights and Liberties* (Newman, 1959), a study of the Catholic tradition of freedom in America which was cited in the Court decision he discusses in his article.

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tion of belief stood still. The new constitution drafted after the Civil War retained much of the old. Up to the present no Maryland legislature passed laws for the benefit of those who might from conscience seek exceptions from declaration of belief. In the course of this period the Constitutional provision came to constitute a religious test for a recognizable group of citizens.

THE SUPREME COURT spoke in direct contrast to this reactionary strain in the evolution of Maryland law. In categorical terms Justice Black reversed the whole judgment of the lower court and implicitly indicted Maryland lawmakers. "This Maryland religious test for public office," he stated, "unconstitutionally invades the appellant's freedom of belief and religion and therefore cannot be enforced against him." Impairment of individual liberty became the central issue.

The High Court did not propose to settle the abstract question of public office as a right. It did, however point out that Article VI of the Federal Constitution ending religious test for office applied to the state by force of the Fourteenth Amendment. A citizen had a right to office without the requirement of such religious criteria. Again, concern was with the effect of this kind of criteria on freedom in thought and belief.

As for the rights of the "ungodly," Justice Black would in effect seem to disclaim any competence on the part of the State in determining who is "godly" and who is not. Such a judgment would involve probing religious belief as well as exercising a spiritual function from which, happily enough, the Federal Constitution has relieved the State through the First Amendment.

In proceeding along these lines Mr. Black adequately disposed of the lower court's view of public security. If written declarations of belief harmed personal religious liberty, they thereby constituted a menace to public security.

Justice Black properly made reference to the *Zorach Case*. The substance of this decision dealt with the public character of religion and its tendency to exert a wholesome influence on our public institutions. This indeed is a significant phase of religious freedom.

He then pointed out that this exercise of freedom need not compromise another aspect of religious freedom as found in the individual. "Nothing decided or written in *Zorach,*" he explained, "lends support to the idea that the Court there intended to open up the way for government, state or federal, to restore the historically and constitutionally discredited policy of probing religious beliefs by test oaths or limiting public offices to persons who have, or perhaps more properly, profeses to have a belief in some particular kind of religious concept."

THE UNANIMOUS opinion was not content with all of this but proceeded to identify historically the spirit of their ruling with that of the seventeenth century founders of Maryland. This was in a sense a conclusive rebuttal to Judge Henderson's characterization of the traditional toleration of Maryland. Of the eight pages of the decision one entire page was devoted to this. None of the material nor the reference used were from the briefs of Torcaso's counsel, which included the American Civil Liberties Union. The test oath was the decisive point of discusssion the High Court examined in those times.

Justice Black noted that the test oath was a matter of concern for George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, and founder of Maryland. Calvert was refused settlement in Virginia because he would not take a test oath which was contrary to his conscience. He then set about finding a place which would free men from such probing of belief.

The men who carried Calvert's project out in the first Maryland assemblies gave further development to this spirit. They drafted the Maryland Ordinance of 1639, which separated spiritual from temporal authority. The Court was thus in fact appealing to an Anglo-American Catholic tradition of religious freedom in rejecting in 1961 the religious test for office.

We learn a great deal of American law and its liberties from *Torcaso v. Watkins*. The Court must respect history, including what is contemporary. This is even more the case with the legislatures. They must sense the moment of change, and act with a sensitivity for freedom, which is always being affected by the historical developments of each generation. In this process as it affects religious provisions, the religious zealot as well as the militant secularist must not settle our institutions for tomorrow.

The Supreme Court ruling illuminates another contemporary condition of America as a religious people. This is the full implication of democracy for religion. The people rule. If they are a religious people their sensibilities will lead them to support the men and policies that conform to their consciences. The oath of office is a reasonable manifestation of such a people and tends to awaken a sense of moral accountability but it is not needed as a test. Men are now tested at the polls.

In this generation we have complacently and often unconsciously, adjusted to the progressive secularization of American society in education, the arts, and other areas more than in government. Perhaps such symbols as religious tests for public office have proven the sweet lotus leaves, which have left God's servants so languid.

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An Exchange of Views

"Rally Round What Flag?"

Norwood, Pa.

TO THE EDITORS: I don't know whose flag Howard N. Meyer has rallied around [June 9], but it doesn't appear to be one planted firmly on the grounds of fact. It may seem trite and inconsequential, but I must ask where in the name of all that is holy he obtained his figures on Negro military participation in the Civil War. He says: "The reader will not learn that Negro soldiers made up twelve percent of the victorious Northern army and that they sustained eighteen percent of the Union fatalities. There is no mention of the hundred and twenty Negro infantry regiments, nor of the twenty-two Negro artillery regiments nor of the Negro cavalry regiments that helped to defeat the rebellion."

Lt-Col. Wm. F. Fox wrote the definitive work in 1889 on casualties and other statistics in the Civil War *(Regimental Losses in the American Civil War,* Albany, N.Y.). He says as follows (p. 53 ff.): "Of these regiments (the colored troops), about sixty were brought into action on the battlefield, the others having been assigned to post or garrison duty. Of the regiments brought into action, only a few were engaged in more than one battle. The war was half over, and so the total of killed or mortally wounded does not appear as great as it otherwise would have done. The total number killed and mortally wounded in the colored troops was 143 officers and 2,751 men. The officers were whites." Elsewhere (p.24) it is stated: "Mr. Kirkley, the statistician of the War Dept. states the deaths in battle at 110,170 of which 67,058 were classified as killed in action and 43,012 as having died of wounds." By any variety of mathematics Mr. Meyer can consult he won't get any eighteen per cent out of those figures. He is free to interpret the Civil War in any bloody-shirt terms he likes, but it isn't going to help his cause any by citing numbers out of the air.

I am no Confederate sympathizer, but a discussion of the Centennial in somewhat less doctrinaire terms seems to be in order. For one thing, Mr. Meyer dismisses the Reconstruction a bit too blithely for me. Hodding Carter is no wool-hat but his view of the period and some of its Northern "promoters" is in my view a great deal closer to the nature of things than Mr. Meyer's. And if Mr. Meyer is going to place his arms around Charles Sumner and Thad Stevens, then he has to take Zach Chandler, Ben Wade, Edwin Stanton and all of the rest of that shady Radical Republican group whose bungling in the War was more help to the South than two more army corps. Just because Mr. Meyer has a good thing going for him, i.e., the present civil rights controversy, he shouldn't allow himself to be carried away to Harper's Ferry in the wake of John Brown.

FRANK A. BOYLE.

Riverside, Conn.

TO THE EDITORS: After reading Howard N. Meyer's "Rally Round *What* Flag?" [June 9], I am reminded of Al Smith's admonition, "Let's look at the record."

Mr. Meyer charges the Chairman of the Civil War Centennial Commission (General U.S. Grant, III) with accepting the ideology that North-South reconciliation is more important than the human rights of the Negro. Implied in this and other criticisms of the Commission is Mr. Meyer's assumption that the war was fought to free the Negro and that the Commission was created to commemorate the victory to that end. But from our youth up our Northern friends and historians have assured us that the North did not make war on the South to deprive fellow citizens of their legally-held property—but to save the Union. To prove their argument they have turned to the record and cited no less an authority than the Commander-in-Chief of the Northern forces, Abraham Lincoln himself. Mr. Lincoln said at the time: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; . . ."

One's assumption would be that General Grant, like most of us, considers the human rights of the Negro (and of all human beings) very important indeed. But the particular job General Grant was appointed to do was not to commemorate the Emancipation Proclamation, nor the Northern victory, nor the South's defeat, nor the Supreme Court's school integration decision—but to commemorate the Civil War. And certainly no one would deny that the South was more a part of that war in every sense of the word than any other section of the country.

Mr. Meyer appears rankled over "the dedication of a monument to the man who fired the first shot at his country's flag a century ago." Here again Mr. Meyer ignores the record. For South Carolina seceded from the

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Union in December 1860 and the first shot on Ft. Sumter was not fired until April 1861. Obviously it was not his flag he fired upon. (If Mr. Meyer should seek refuge in a meaningless technicality, what will he do with his Paul Revere?)

Mr. Meyer doesn't like to have it said that the war was unnecessary and the blame placed on Mr. Sumner and other northern fanatics—but once more Mr. Meyer is ignoring the record which he himself cites, viz., the history textbooks.

Mr. Meyer thinks it strange that the Commission's brochure does not record the figures showing the numbers of Negroes that served in the Union Army, but that would be recognizing only half the record as far as the Negro is concerned, for James Truslow Adams in his *The March of Democracy* points out that the slaves that fled to the Union Armies following the Emancipation Proclamation were few compared to the total, and that it is a commentary both on the Negro nature and on the wild ravings of the Northern Abolitionists that a Southern Governor could say after the war was over that "our women and infant children were left almost exclusively to the protection of our slaves and they proved true to their trust. Not one case of insult, outrage, indignity, has come to my knowledge."

Finally, it appears that Mr. Meyer's underlying error is the one common to so many who hate the South, and that is the amazing premise that although the North won the war to preserve the Union, the South is no longer a part of that Union.

QUINTARD JOYNER.

REPLY

New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: Questions of fact are easier to handle than differences of opinion: my figures on Negro military participation in the War were taken from the scholarly study by Prof. Dudley T. Cornish of Kansas, published in 1956, entitled *The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865*. Basing his conclusions on careful review of official records and primary sources, he gives a figure of 68,178 deaths from all causes. This includes some deaths due to lynchings by Confederate commanders who did not treat Negro soldiers as prisoners of war. The total is over eighteen per cent of the 365,000 Union death toll. My regimental figures are also from *The Sable Arm*.

I could not, in the space of a letter, do justice to the rest of what my critics have to say. I believe—but cannot demonstrate in a few words—that ninety per cent or more of what has been written as "history" about Reconstruction is "a fable, generally agreed upon." I hope that the coming Centennial of that period will lead to the ultimate vindication of the thesis that the force and violence that overthrew the Reconstruction state governments was provoked by fear of success of bi-racial administration, and not by dismay at its failure.

This is not to deny that some carpetbaggers were corrupt, etc. Nothing is ever a case of all right or all wrong. However, as to the post-Reconstruction period, there should be no doubt as to the facts. I cite Prof. Paul Buck's Pulitzer prize-winning *The Road to Reunion 1865-1900*. A seeming advocate of reconciliation at any price, Prof. Buck nevertheless states: "Much was said about the South acting defensively to erect bulwarks against the threat of Negro domination. But actually the South moved aggressively to reduce the Negro's status to something comparable to serfdom."

As to slavery, I did not state or even assume that the War was *begun* "to free the Negro." The war was precipitated by the election of an Administration committed to checking the expansion of slavery. The purpose of the secession was to perpetuate the enslavement of the Negro. I quote Mr. Stephens, Vice-President and most distinguished orator of the Confederacy: "Slavery was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. . . . The prevailing ideas entertained by [Jefferson] and most of the leading statesmen of his time were that the enslavement of the African race was in violation of the laws of nature. . . . Those ideas, however, were fundamentally false. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. . . . Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its cornerstone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition." It did not take very long for Lincoln's administration to come round to the necessary antithesis expressed in the idea that unless the Union destroyed slavery, slavery would destroy the Union.

To write, as I did, that the firing of the first gun was treason, was not a technicality—unless one concedes, as Mr. Joyner seems to, the "right" to secede. If, recently, the junta of rebellious French generals who seized Algeria had kept their hold on the area for a few months, would their conduct have been the less treasonable because the more successful? The Centennial of the Salan-Challe coup will not see their statues wreathed and beflagged. The question is not whether Robert E. Lee sincerely *thought* he chose the right course; it is whether he did in fact choose the right course.

Hate the South? Of course not. I tried to make that clear in a number of ways, especially by my reference to a brutal lynching at Coattsville, *Pennsylvania,* which was intended to symbolize and dramatize the fact that none of us is innocent. For over a century, however,

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some in or of the South have been afflicted with a sort of neurotic mis-identification; when *slavery* (later, segregation) was criticized they felt, or at least said, it was the *South* that was being attacked. There is much about the South of the United States that I love and respect; I am particularly proud right now of the young Negro students who have found a way, within our democratic institutions, to begin to win the balance of their freedom, so long withheld.

As for the Centennial commemorators, the fact remains that they have chosen to make a pageant of tragic fratricidal strife and to suppress the memory of the sole redeeming feaure of our greatest calamity. Too late for inclusion in my article, I received the June issue of the official monthly newsletter of General Grant's Commission with the following page one announcement: *"AIDS FOR ADVERTISERS* is the title of a handy little booklet recently issued by the Committee on Advertising of the National Commission to provide some suggestions which may aid companies and their advertising agencies in coordinating their advertising and sales campaigns to take advantage of opportunities offered by Centennial observances." From these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion. . . .

HOWARD N. MEYER.

Aid to Education

Geyser, Mont.

TO THE EDITORS: William F. O'Conner, commenting on "Aid to Education" [June 23], pulls all the old chestnuts out of the fires of Catholic education as he bears witness to *his* experience.

His experience (if his total recall is exact and not colored by the serious lacunae he discovered later) could be and can be duplicated by graduates of public schools. But this is not the point. His indictment is of Catholic education as such, and is most serious in its implications.

Whatever the pros and cons of aid to education, public or otherwise, Mr. O'Connor would do well to investigate the present situation and quality of Catholic elementary and secondary education. He may find his experience (I presume) of twenty or thirty years ago not valid today.

(*Rev.*) JAMES F. KITTLESON.

Notre Dame, Ind.

TO THE EDITORS: With a neatly stacked deck, Mr. William F. O'Conner in his letter [June 23] beautifully finesses parochial schools out of existence. To look at his three choices:

His first is "continuation with inadequate resources." This is divorced from any possibility of federal aid, as well as the unmentioned possibility of justice on the local and state levels, too, because Mr. O'Conner very hastily concludes that the "resuscitation of old antagonisms" is too high a price for justice—an attitude, fortunately, that the heroes of race justice in the South have not shared. *Without* this divorce, continuation, as a *fourth* alternative, makes great sense, as it would involve a billion and a half dollars a year in local, state, and federal public funds for private school education—quite enough with even a quarter of the present private outlay to make every private or parochial school a model from Christian and secular points of view.

Mr. O'Connor may be content with the present expression of the status quo in "constitutional terms." I and millions of other parents of private school children, I can safely say, are not. And we are organizing to insist upon our civil rights. Also, Mr. O'Connor notwithstanding, we are quite capable of distinguishing between our civil rights as parents and children and the false issues of "public monies for propagating sectarian doctrines."

We are also certain that the time is now because the pending legislation seriously endangers the future of all private education, being the first step in a much larger assumption of the financial burden of education by the federal government. This bill would make the federal share ten per cent; the goal as soon as possible is twenty-five per cent. I am much more concerned about the survival of private schools than I am the immediate danger to public education, already far better financed even in Mississippi and South Carolina than the great proportion of the private sector, not to mention the great proportion of the pending aid program that will be purely and simply pork barrel in states and communities that admittedly need no federal aid.

As for the third choice, abandonment of parochial schools, Mr. O'Connor assumes too quickly the universal and unchanging character of his single parochial experience. Nuns today, and brothers and increasing numbers of lay teachers are educated far better than twenty years ago, and parochial schools reflect their sounder backgrounds and advanced degrees as well as their confrontation of the here-and-now larger community into which parochial students must eventually enter. These teachers are certainly escaping the ghetto mentality, and the assumption is just that they will not

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lead their students into its morasses. The past is past. But the need for money is multiplying.

The hothouse vs. outside weather analogy has the danger of all analogies—it may not fit perfectly. But let us take an applicable analogue—tomatoes. They grow best in the natural elements of the field not from seed but with a hothouse start. Just so the human spirit. Given the *proper* and *realistic* formation in church, school, and home, the young Christian adult is prepared for the heat of the day. But better to develop muscles before venturing onto the N.Y. waterfront.

This ready abandonment of the parochial schools is based, furthermore, on the highly questionable assumption that God-centered education has no positive worth, that this central dimension of education can be set aside from nine to three daily in the formal education of our children with no appreciable pain or injury.

I am concerned, too, as Mr. O'Connor is, about the possibility that justice for private school students would mean an out for segregationists. But obviously Mr. O'Connor has given no more profound thought to this than his three "choices" for my children. If private schools in the South were established on a wide scale with any criterion that effectively resulted in segregation other than that of church denomination, the courts could strike down the criterion. Were this single sacrosanct criterion in effect, very quickly the churches would find themselves embarrassed as sponsors of injustice, if they would even make such a mistake as touching such schools at all. Pessimistic Southerner that I have become, I don't think most of the Southern churches would bring Christianity in the South into such ridicule; they would more likely balk at being used. If they did go that hypocritical path, let them. I'm sure Southern Negroes do not want desegregation that badly anyway.

On the other hand, Negroes would at least recive equal funds down the line, with which they might attend Catholic, Episcopal, Lutheran, Methodist or other church-sponsored schools likely to be open to all colors of men. This would speed *de facto* desegregation rather than thwart it. But, of course, these comments are based on the assumption that local, state, and federal revenues would be equally available to all for education, something still some time away; federal aid alone is not enough to spur any wave of new private schools in the South.

It is, it seems to me, a great danger, at this moment, for Mr. O'Connor's views to go uncriticized, especially in that he is not alone in holding them. For we have a clear case: The Supreme Court has repeatedly declared that the government cannot demand the surrender of a constitutional right as a condition for sharing in welfare benefits. And under the 5th and 14th Amendments, every citizen has a right to share equally in welfare benefits provided by the federal and state governments. Education aid, designed for all American children and paid for by all taxpayers, is one of these welfare benefits. And the parental right to choose church-sponsored, or other non-state, schools, was affirmed clearly by the Supreme Court in the 1925 Oregon Case. This right is not served by the state school, nor can the state school, which cannot be neuter-gender in its orientation, serve all equally. Furthermore, our need is clear, and not now only to ourselves alone; others see it too.

So, with justice on our side and opinion swinging our way generally, it is not the time to despair of a "fair share" of tax monies for our children too. And with more and more parents turning to parochial schools for what public schools apparently lack—God at the center—it is folly to dismiss parochial education in the way such secularists as Walter Lippmann, the *New Republic,* and much of Congress do. It is already difficult enough to bring the uninformed to recognize the rights and the needs of our children without undercutting a case being made more and more clearly and receiving more and more sympathy, with the contention that the right to freedom of choice isn't worth exercising even if you had it!

WILLIAM H. SLAVICK, Chairman,
South Bend Citizens for Educational Freedom.

"American Catholics Today"

Washington, D.C.

TO THE EDITORS: The address at Marquette University given by Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, was perhaps the most widely publicized of this June's Catholic commencement and baccalaureate speeches [Editorial, "American Catholics Today," The Commonweal, July 7]. Such a major address by an Apostolic Delegate in our country is significant and deserves to be respectfully considered. We wish therefore to raise certain questions about it.

Archbishop Vagnozzi addressed himself to many problems: the Catholic intellectual in a secular society, reform of the liturgy, the vernacular in the Mass, liturgical art, and recent development in Scripture studies. In our response we shall assume that the Apostolic Delegate is dealing with these problems in their American context and we shall limit ourselves to

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the Archbishop's remarks on Catholic intellectuals and liturgists.

Archbishop Vagnozzi says he is "concerned with the uneasiness and preoccupations of some Catholic intellectuals." He continues: "They seem to feel that every effort has to be made in order to build a bridge between modern secular thought and Catholic thought even to the point of digressing from positions traditionally accepted in the past, in the expectations of being acknowledged and accepted in the intellectual circles of today. In an attempt to obtain this acknowledgment and acceptance, they are inclined to introduce interpretations of Catholic teaching which often appear to be contradictory to what has been believed not only in the last century but in the preceding centuries as well."

Unfortunately this passage may leave the impression that the generality of Catholic intellectuals in the U.S. are acting in a seriously imprudent way and that they are of set purpose compromising traditional Catholic positions. Catholics who are trying to build a bridge between Catholic teaching and the truth that is within secular thought are *not* motivated by ill will.

Of the Catholic intellectuals whom we know—and who are willing to be identified as such—there are none who compromise their faith in the pursuit of either truth or an academic reputation. If the Archbishop is saying that the U.S. Catholics who have recently reflected on the state of Catholic intellectual life are not true and genuine Catholic intellectuals, then he is badly misreading the intent of their articles and speeches. Their critical reflections were not made in a spirit of compromise nor in an effort simply to ape an irreligious intellectuality. They were offered by men—such as Bishop John J. Wright, Monsignor John Tracy Ellis, Fathers Theodore Hesburgh, John Cavanaugh and Gustave Weigel and Professor Thomas O'Dea—who are thoroughly Catholic and who wish by their writing only to advance the cause of Christian excellence in the intellectual life.

Intellectuals rarely have an easy time of it. Their concern for the intellectual life and their realization of how agonizingly difficult the search for truth is may appear to many as an unchristian arrogance. Because the total number of Catholic intellectuals in the United States is relatively small, the majority of them suffers from an indiscriminate and scattered attack upon even a few. As Bishop Wright has pointed out, there is an element of anti-intellectualism among American Catholics. In these days it would be unhealthy for the Church in the U.S. if this anti-intellectualism found new adherents.

As laymen seeking our proper place in the Church's worship, we would also respectively express our disappointment concerning the Archbishop's remarks about those engaged in the liturgical movement. As in other matters, perhaps there are extremists on both sides of the discussion of liturgical reform. But if we read the writing of the leading American liturgists correctly, their main emphasis is focused on papal teaching and legislation. While discussion of liturgical reform is undoubtedly important to them, it does not seem to occupy their first attention.

In questions of Church law and discipline, our bishops need to know the problems and aspirations of the people if they are to legislate in full knowledge of conditions of our day. For example, if a significant number of our priests and people think more extended use of vernacular would produce greater spiritual and pastoral benefits among the people it is important that the bishops and the Holy See be made aware of their views. Moreover, we should regret to see their legitimate expression of opinion discouraged. Indeed, although we ourselves make no brief here for or against use of the vernacular, we would hope that sincere expressions of opinion on the vernacular or other legislative proposals be solicitously received by our bishops and the Holy See.

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THE SCREEN

SUSPENSE WITH DECORATIONS

IF YOUR preference in movies runs to suspense and thrills, "The Naked Edge" could well be your dish of tea. But you should be warned that this exercise, so well directed by Michael Anderson, works awfully hard for a build-up that seems somewhat of a let-down when it finally comes. Not going as far as Hitchcock's "Psycho," which wouldn't allow customers in after it started, "The Naked Edge" refuses to seat anyone during its last thirteen minutes. Actually this makes sense, because all hell pops loose in the last reel; and it would never do to know ahead who really done it.

The main trouble with "The Naked Edge" is that it's labored, and it expects its audience to labor too. It opens with Gary Cooper on the witness stand in London giving his version of a murder. Some six years later Deborah Kerr, as his attractive wife, begins to be suspicious of him. The script, written by Joseph Stefano from Max Erlich's novel *First Train to Babylon,* certainly piles on plenty of reasons for Deborah's suspicions. And the contrived script also piles on one coincidence after the other: that blackmail letter that arrives four years late because of the stolen mail bag; Cooper's unexplained wealth and his strange behavior; the innuendoes of Cooper's business associate (Michael Wilding); and the continued accusations of that disbarred lawyer (Eric Portman) and the wife (Diana Cilento) of the man sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder. It's no wonder poor Deborah is on edge and thinks her world is crumbling; but it hardly seems possible that her supposedly stable and happy marriage would fall apart suddenly. Many of director Anderson's individual scenes are quite convincing, and he uses Hermione Gingold and her gigolo well as comedy relief to heighten the next grim episode. But as a whole "The Naked Edge" doesn't bear close inspection.

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JOHN FORD'S new film can't stand close scrutiny either. The fault stems not from the script Frank Nugent wrote from Will Cook's novel *Comanche Captive* but from the fact that Ford couldn't decide whether he was making a satire on westerns or a very serious outdoor movie about the rescue of white prisoners who have been living for years as Comanche captives.

In any case, "Two Rode Together" is one great hodge-podge of fun and tragedy. Under Ford's direction James Stewart and Richard Widmark turn in fine performances as a Texas marshall and a U.S. Cavalry lieutenant, respectively. After considerable horseplay that's not too amusing, Jim and Dick ride into a Comanche camp and finally succeed in making a trade for two whites, a boy who is now a half-wild Indian and a Spanish girl (Linda Cristal) who has been the woman of one of the Indians.

What happens when these two ex-captives get to the so-called civilization of the white settlers and military at Fort Grant is not very pleasant; and if John Ford had concentrated on the interesting social problem of outcasts' return, he could have made a fascinating film. But mixed with this serious subject is the horseplay again. "Two Rode Together" has a large and good cast and some stunning color photography of the wilds of Texas, but these assets hardly redeem the confusions of style in film making.

LESS pretentious but more entertaining is a new little Walt Disney film, "Nikki, Wild Dog of the North". Stemming somewhat vaguely from James Oliver Curwood's *Nomads of the North,* it tells a story, sometimes charming, often exciting, of the friendship that develops between a Malemute pup and a black bear cub.

The adventures that befall them when the canoe of their master (Jean Coutu) turns over and they escape tied together are a delight. The difficulties of their eating and sleeping together, with their different diets and living habits, add to the fun; and their encounters with other animals and dangers of the Canadian Rockies provide the thrills.

The rope that binds them is finally broken, but when winter comes and the bear hibernates, the dog has to start out on his own. Unfortunately he is captured by a mean trapper (Emile Genest) who discovers what a courageous fighter Nikki is and turns him into a vicious fighting dog for the fights at the fort. The rest of the story concerns Nikki's reunion with his former master. Made in Canada by a combination of Disney's staff and Canadian film makers, "Nikki" has lovely Technicolor shots of the country and the animals. Its story may appeal more to young fry than to their elders, but its pictures will win audiences of all ages.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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THE STAGE

THE ROMANTIC AGONY

IN THE SINUOUS and abstinent ceremony of Mr. Howard Hart's rendering—adaptation, translation, version, what you will: "Noontide" had surely its ground and substance in the specific Claudel text—the passage of "Partage de Midi" through the blind and heedless alleys of American theater carried with it something of that very light, vagrant, which shafts the gathered and mutinous darkness of the play's closing scenes. It had, "Noontide," its birth and unregarded death as one of those impulses of reckless and quixotic honor which still have power to astonish and move us. Myself, not cynically, I cannot but believe the energy here to have been a brave unwisdom. There was, immediately (for out of just such banalities is any history compounded) the brutal seasonal realism that mind and spirit will grapple, exhilarated, in November with what, by June, they torpidly decline. Again: no conscious labor after "style," no aesthetic humility—and "Noontide" was performed, particularly by Mr. Michael Wager, with a distinguished suppression of egotism—will release American actors into that persuasion, magnetism and *knowing* which Gallic and Latin players, often unworthily and without effort, possess as a very card of identity. Finally, and this is a point of arguable delicacy, I should have preferred to encounter "Partage de Midi" in the translation—as "Break of Noon"—by Mr. Wallace Fowlie, which appears in the recent Regnery volume with Claudel's "The Tidings Brought to Mary." Mr. Hart is a poet of eloquent lyricism, and brings to the "Partage" text a kind of passionate justice. Yet in the subtler realm of correspondences and rhythms, of those intimacies which are as much a part of language and life as passion, Mr. Fowlie has a deeper resonance: he commands that "abundance without extravagance" Mr. Virgil Thomson once described as specifically Gallic—what is known in French manners as *tenue*.

It will seem I entertain the apocalyptic vision of an ideal "Partage"—not, after all, a dishonorable hope, and one which the Paris premiere of 1948 would seem to have sustained—yet for a perverse moment I must turn devil's advocate, and suggest the barriers to such a possibility. With the play as personal document, Christian *agon* or symbolic fable, I am not presently concerned. So much complex light has been shed upon it by Mr. Fowlie in his *Dionysus in Paris,* by M. Jacques Guicharneau in his recent study of contemporary French drama, and by that curiously militant underground who know it only as a legend of grandeur, that the American critic may intrude only at hazard: at worst, he might make of its intricate pavane of eroticism, vocation and transcendence—as did the critic of *The New Yorker,* with the cruel virtuosity of those who know neither value *nor* price—caricature and burlesque; at best, he may end—as did much of the favorable press—by congratulating Claudel on being "a poet." It is rather to "Partage de Midi" as secular event that I shall attend, to this and to the curious matter of Anglo-Saxon resistance to Claudel's theater, when Ionesco and Beckett have already established victorious beachheads, when Brecht is sailing into harbor, and Ghelderode faintly colors the horizon.

The absence of radical form, and the presence of explicit intention deny Claudel, I believe, the *reclame* of these innovators, as well, even, as that of Anouilh and Giraudoux; he shares, in this, the limbo of another great Latin, Pirandello, to whose cerebral violence and dark gaiety the Anglo-Soxan mind has never reconciled itself. Irrationalism it will entertain, as the *nouveau frisson;* illogic—or rather peremptory outline and draughtsmanship, at the sacrifice of a point-by-point psychological literalism—it takes as insult. Mr. Stark Young has elsewhere a passage on Pirandello which, with only a shift in emphasis, illumines the Claudel singularity:

"In many cases a speech . . . might be said by any one of half a dozen of the people in the story. It does not proceed from the depths of any particular person, but serves rather to keep the argument up, the analysis alive, the structure building. Indeed, the people in this play are hardly people at all; they are figures in the game that Pirandello is playing. They are human traits, situations, mental aspects."

Theatrically, the problem resolves itself into the dilemma of how much actuality to allow these Gallic antagonisms of character and design; fatally, it is the Anglo-Saxon impulse to permit the former only a statement of indulgent eccentricity, and to translate the latter into some ponderous effort of intellectuality, rather than into a translucent rhythm and dialogue of spirit. "Noontide" wholly escaped neither of these threatening alternatives.

Equally, the image of selfhood upon which "Partage de Midi" rests is alien to the accommodating rationalism and liberal sentiment of the modern temper. And ironically, for it is that very self which Claudel sees as the stumbling block, the rim of the finite from which man can only contemplate, yet passionately, the inaccessible transcendent. But then, of course, it is an easy thing for those who have never known the exactions and intoxications of selfhood to reproach that tormented experience in another as self-righteous, egotism, a fantasy.

Hence, too, our impatience with Claudel's fusion of the erotic and the spiritual: for the Anglo-Saxon, autonomous realms of imaginative life, irreparably divorced, and solipsistic each in its kingdom of purity.

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(Was it not so mundane an observer as Mr. Somerset Maugham who remarked that, to the Latin eye, a man who has thrown his life away on a woman will appeal always as an object of friendly or ironic compassion, while in the English—and by extension, American—view, irretrievably he seems a wastrel or a gull?) Yet no less the *Phèdre* or *Madame Bovary, Tristan* or Mlle. Duras' film of "Hiroshima Mon Amour," "Partage de Midi" issues from that dream Mr. Virgil Thomson has defined as the classic French ideal: "the dream of an equilibrium in which sentiment, sensuality, and the intelligence are united at their highest intensity through the operations of a moral quality." With them, it takes as its *donnée* the romantic agony, and as its special audacity not Tristan's tragic symbolism, nor the cruel lucidities of Flaubert, neither Phèdre's fatality (though how analogous, in Claudel, the imagery of light and dark) nor the harassing existential flux of time and memory in Mlle. Duras, but rather a very *refusal* to rest in the tragic equation, a flowering of hope towards all that is splendid, rigorous and grave in the ambient darkness. Behind its gestures, its poetry and its solitude lies "our deepest desire to know the real," as Mr. Fowlie writes, "and in this sense the aesthetic experience may be the quieting in us of a persistent craving."

RICHARD HAYES.

BOOKS

Analyses of Religion and the Religious Act

ON THE ETERNAL IN MAN. By Max Scheler. Translated by Bernard Noble. Harper. $10.

By QUENTIN LAUER

SO POWERFUL and persuasive is the thought of Max Scheler that it sweeps the reader along, despite himself, as though on an irresistible tide. Until recently, however, the English-speaking world has had scant opportunity to experience the exhiliration of swimming in this tide. American readers in particular have little acquaintance with Scheler's thought. All the more welcome, then, is Bernard Noble's scintillating translation of Scheler's most important contribution to the philosophy of religion. Along with Peter Heath's equally outstanding translation of Scheler's *The Nature of Sympathy,* it at once provides us with an excellent introduction to Scheler's thinking and deprives us of all excuses to neglect that thinking any longer.

Although the book comprises a variety of studies, by far the most significant, in length as well as content, is the central study on "Problems of Religion." In this and in the much shorter essay "Repentance and Rebirth," Scheler presents his developed phenomenological reflections on man's experience of the divine.

Man, he says, has a knowledge of God which is on the one hand neither irrational nor sentimental, and on the other neither scientific nor metaphysical. Religious knowledge is essentially different from any other kind of knowledge, and the God who is its "intentional object" is essentially different from the God of philosophy—though the God which both religion and philosophy seek to know is the same. Though metaphysics is indispensable, if religion is not to lose contact with other forms of human knowing it has no function in "proving" the existence of religion's object. Religious awareness precedes philosophical cognition precisely because knowledge of a personal God can only be "knowledge from God" and the existence of such a God cannot be proved from the facts of extra-religious experience.

Thus it is that, for Scheler, the method demanded by a philosophy of religion is chiefly a phenomenological analysis of the religious act, wherein man's immediate experience of the creatureliness of things, his "*empirical sense* of being God's principal creation," reveal God to him in a way which metaphysical thought or scientific thought simply cannot.

Nor is religious thought without its own objective logic; it has its inviolable rules, and what it grasps is not a mere projection of man's needs or desires but the true God, whose being in no way conflicts with the conclusions of man's reason. Religious thought is a thought which can be analyzed, and to a careful analysis it reveals its essential characteristics.

As a result of his "essential analyses" Scheler draws a number of conclusions with regard to religion and the religious act. Though, for example, he recognizes the possibility of a growth in religious consciousness, he sees in its essence and in the nature of its object that only one religion can possibly be true, and that this is the Christian religion.

In this connection he devotes many pages to a categorical rejection of the very possibility that a "new religion" should ever arise to supplant Christianity. Nor, he contends, do the cataclysmic events of World War I, the guilt which we all share, indicate that Christianity is bankrupt; they reveal, rather, that European culture is bankrupt because it is no longer Christian. Despite the fascination of these analyses, however, one suspects that they reveal to Scheler more than one has a right to expect from human reason, even though it be religious reason.

Precisely because Scheler's thought is so intoxicatingly powerful and his manner of writing so persuasive, one must be all the more wary of losing one's critical sense in the flow of his rhetoric. If we preserve the distance which is essential to objective thinking, we find that

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Scheler "sees" too many things too clearly. "Essences," for example, dominate his thinking, but he never quite succeeds in convincing us that these essences are not simply abstractions.

The very brilliance of his insights leads to massive oversimplifications of opposing positions and thus to an almost cavalier refutation of them. His insistence on "eternal truths" and "eternal values" is calculated to make the opposition wilt, but the proliferation of them makes one suspicious. Even where one agrees with his convictions, one need not agree that the phenomenological evidence he adduces to support these convictions succeeds in turning the trick.

Scheler offers us a heady wine; no one with taste will refuse it; but we must make the effort to maintain our equilibrium while drinking it.

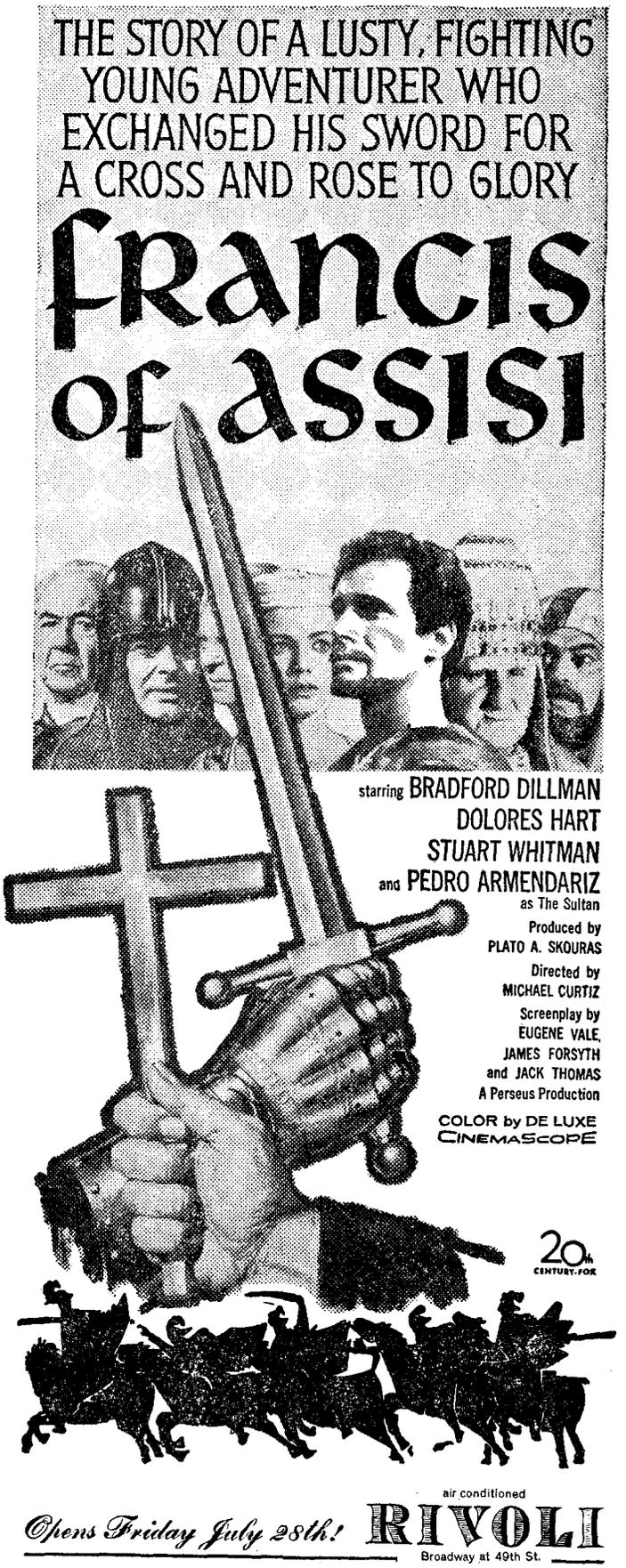
Partial Views

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. By Raymond Aron. Beacon Press. $7.50.

By WALTER E. ARNOLD, JR.

THIS WORK by one of France's leading scholars and political commentators is probably the one thing worth reading among the pulp mills of "must reads." The only wonder is that Mr. Aron's book is so late appearing in English; it came out in French in 1938, and has since enjoyed a reputation far in excess of its availability. What with the great and growing prestige of historical research and the alarming frequency of global views of the past, not to say of the future, it is very good indeed to have an essay in English which serves as a thorough critique of thinking which is called "historical" and claims to be "scientific."

An Introduction to the Philosophy of History is not written to comfort pessimists or optimists who claim to base their views on a universal study of history. Aron is in that grand sceptical tradition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which goes back at least to Montaigne, as he maintains that the situation of man in time, an actor in history as well as a spectator, precludes any but partial views of the total human career.

In a brilliantly argued section of his book Aron reveals the inseparability of human development and historical understanding, such that one cannot change without changing the other. The individual, in assimilating human experience through historical understanding, affects both the meaning of the past and his own identity as an actor in the present movement of events. Consequently it is the better part of historical wisdom to understand why the effort to be contemporary is condemned to failure as the attempt at global understanding is doomed to relativity. Only a plurality of systems of interpretation can begin to approach the desired universally valid history, because only such can be faithful to the conditions under which objectivity can be achieved.

Thus in Aron's view there must be a balance of tension between the quest for objectivity and the relativism inherent in any unified grasp of historical change. Both the effort for causal explanation and that for human understanding must, however, be maintained. Prof. Aron has no time for those mincing "scientific historians" who refuse to philosophize because they cannot find the ground rules for a universal validity as to the meaning of the scrolls of time. His study is precisely "An Essay on the Limits of Historical Objectivity," in order both to set the philosophy of history free from the thralldom of a false standard of knowledge and to urge its paramount importance in our time. Therefore Aron has been careful to leave room for the last word on the relativity of historical knowledge by including a section on the limits too of that very relativism.

The chief obligation of any introduction to the philosophy of history is faced in a final section, "History and Truth." Judging whether he has done well or ill here is, of course, part of the challenge of reading him. Nevertheless his last section is avowedly an outline, and one could wish he had given more time to it. (He has perhaps given too much to a searching but unnecessarily technical section on determinism and causality.)

The argument of this last section is devoted to the nature and destiny of man. Here is the point of convergence of history and philosophy, since, as Aron observes, "free to choose, mankind has a history because it is in search of a destiny." Here too history claims its title as a work of the spirit. "History implies a spiritual bond among individuals. History is always history of spirit, even when it is the history of the forces of production." There is mighty meat here for more than one night's stay.

Between Terror and Delight

THE LINEN BANDS. By Raymond Roseliep. Preface by John Logan. Newman Press. $3.50.

By WILLIAM J. REDDING

TOWARD the end of his *Esthetique du Mal,* Wallace Stevens wrote:

> The adventurer
> In humanity has not conceived of a race
> Completely physical in a physical world.

Stevens' lines have a number of meanings and certainly all of their meanings, though not in each case, apply to the poems of Father Roseliep. My point, in this example, is that Father Roseliep and Wallace Stevens share the eye of the natural philosopher—both of them see the simplicity of the flesh in its eternal meaning.

There is no call to make capital of the fact that Raymond Roseliep is a priest, although his character is imprinted and his experience is extended and enriched by the fact of that sacrament. That Father Rose-

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liep is a teacher seems more to the point. In the forty-odd poems in *The Linen Bands,* the relation of the teacher to the young men of his world is one of the strong points, though it is certainly not the most important.

Since the death of Stevens there has been little enough philosophical poetry in this country—and we are the poorer for it. The best of Father Roseliep's poems fall in the genre of the lyric of natural philosophy. The title poem is one of the best, but it does not reach the level of simplicity seen in some of the poems that follow.

Often the verses are occasional, and move dangerously toward near-trivia. But at their best, as in "The Unrepentant," the mingling of seriousness and wit produces a fine, concerted work.

In all the lines the metrics are clean, natural, and well-turned, with an easy handling of rhyme—these qualities alone are enough to set them off from the usual Catholic and non-Catholic journeyman verse of our magazines.

Toward the center of the book we move through a group of deceivingly simplified philosophical poems. "Boy with Melon," "Where Roots Tangle," "Some Men A Forward Motion Love," and "The Yellow Christ"—all are marked with levels of meaning reaching deeply past the obvious line or word. The simplicity of their sensuousness distinguishes them as a part of that rare and needed kind of work we have sorely missed since Stevens' *Opus Posthumous.* In certain cases the poems move across the thin edge between terror and delight, recalling the effects of Roethke and Emily Dickinson—and I had better stop before I add Blake.

Father Roseliep's work sharpens the senses—the eye, ear, touch, and taste. Whether he sees a boy or a painting, he presents the stuff of vision and grasp:

> The world circling is indifferent
> to his melon full face, wonderful
> belly protruding from unbuttoned
> shirt, hairless chest, Murillo-head deep
> in hair. And the boy doesn't much care
> so long as hard rind throbs when he rolls
> his thumb, testing before the lonely
> errand of blade summon the honey.

I do not intend to suggest that Father Roseliep is in any sort derivative—he has passed that state—his eye and voice and skill are his own. Sifting through his work one finds the strength and individuality of his personality. I can only add that it is a pleasure to find a religious with an eye for Picasso and Gauguin, and who does not mawk on over the latest pietistic hoax of Dali.

The book is finely produced; the preface is an excellent study in its own right; the only fault that one can find is that the book has been so long in coming.

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Principles and Politics

The editors of The Commonweal are not personally interested in what people call partisan politics. We get no favors from any political party, and we want none. At the same time, we do believe in certain political and social principles.

In foreign affairs, for example, we are what people call "internationalist." We favor the principles behind the United Nations; we believe in united action against Communist aggression; we want world cooperation in the battle against poverty — all of which positions, we believe, are in keeping with the best in Catholic social thought.

Furthermore, we are convinced that the chief political issue today is the struggle between the West and international Communism. To our mind, this far overshadows any domestic concern. Indeed, many domestic concerns are shaped and determined by this struggle — the fact that we are unable to spend as much as we would like in social welfare, for example, is due to the necessity for heavy defense spending.

These convictions on our part cannot be kept in a vacuum; we have to look for men in public life who will exemplify them in practice. We recognize that the application of principles to particular questions is not easy, and that many people may disagree with our attempt, but we have to try. Life and human nature being what they are, the actual realization of these principles in national affairs will always be, at best, approximate. Yet we must make the attempt or these principles will remain lifeless.

— from The Commonweal, May 30, 1958

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